

Human Trafficking in Silicon Valley

Study funded by

Juniper Networks Foundation Fund
and
Silicon Valley Community Foundation

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A Message from Silicon Valley Community Foundation

October 2014

Most of us have heard stories about human trafficking – a nice way of referring to modern-day slavery – and think that it is something awful that happens to people in other parts of the world. The painful reality is that this modern-day slavery is real and occurring every day in Silicon Valley. As this report indicates, California is one of the nation's top four destination states for human trafficking, and the San Francisco Bay Area is a particular hotspot.

In keeping with our mission to identify and address the most challenging problems, Silicon Valley Community Foundation partnered with the Juniper Networks Foundation Fund and Not For Sale to conduct a study on the nature and scope of human trafficking in Silicon Valley as well as what is being done to combat this horrific crime. We found that human trafficking is a complex and multi-dimensional form of exploitation that affects people of all ages and different nationalities, including U.S. citizens. Women, men and children are recruited, compelled into labor or commercial sex, held against their will, scared to leave and unaware of their rights.

In commissioning this study, we wanted to do two things. First, we wanted to bring attention and awareness to that fact that while we live in one of the most successful, hyper-connected places in the world, our community is largely unaware of the slavery that exists in our own communities. Second, we wanted to highlight the needs of victims and the adequacy of services to meet their needs. Community-based organizations are often places where victims first go for support. We found that while services exist, we must find ways to help victims develop job skills, lawful work experiences and affordable housing or they are likely to be exploited again. Since completing this study, we have also had the opportunity to talk with leaders in the district attorney's office and county government officials. These perspectives are included in an epilogue to this report.

Our community has both the intellect and resources needed to address this problem, and our hope is that this report helps to create the necessary will to act. The upcoming 2016 Super Bowl that will be played in Santa Clara County provides an unprecedented opportunity for our community to plan and take meaningful collective action to prevent the increase in local and national human trafficking that is often attracted to this international sporting event. SVCF looks forward to building ongoing partnerships with government, businesses, foundations and community-based organizations that are committed to discussing and acting on the recommendations in this report to help end modern-day slavery in Silicon Valley.

Sincerely,
Emmett D. Carson, Ph.D.
CEO and President
Silicon Valley Community Foundation

A Message from Juniper Networks Foundation Fund

October 2014

Three years ago, Juniper Networks entered into a strategic partnership with Not For Sale to help make a significant impact in the movement against human trafficking. Our joint efforts have primarily focused outside the U.S., in targeted areas around the world where women and children are most at risk. Together, we've made a difference with Juniper-funded projects, such as the Not For Sale children's home in Thailand, rehabilitation centers for victims in Amsterdam and Romania, and the backing of social enterprises that bring new opportunities to affected communities.

We're proud of the work we've accomplished and the lives we've changed together. Yet, there is far more work to be done.

We often think we are immune to these issues locally. We enjoy the many benefits that come with living in the beautiful Bay Area, where we've seen tremendous economic growth and prosperity brought by Silicon Valley and our thriving industry. But the facts are in. This \$150 billion global criminal industry has been gaining a foothold right in our own backyard.

Severe human trafficking risks exist in our local communities, and the number of those affected is not only astonishing, it is rising. Reports suggest that an estimated 60,000 individuals are trafficked annually in the United States alone. Through this report, we intend to shed light on this issue, expose our most vulnerable neighborhoods, galvanize local support, and empower our communities to come together to stop this human atrocity.

At Juniper we have a philosophy, it's Change the World. We believe we are agents of change, and together we can make a difference. That is why we continue to partner with Not For Sale and actively support programs that promote the individual freedom of humans everywhere.

I know we have the power and resources within Silicon Valley to help end modern-day slavery and human trafficking in our lifetime. Let's get to work.

Best regards,
Steven Rice
EVP Human Resources
Chair, Juniper Networks Foundation Fund
Juniper Networks

Table of Contents

Overview and Recommendations.....	2
Key Findings	2
Recommendations	3
Conclusion.....	4
Introduction.....	5
Purpose and Objectives.....	5
Overview of Methodology	5
Study Limitations.....	5
Definition of Human Trafficking	6
Global Context	6
National and State Context	7
Findings.....	8
Findings Related to Victims	8
Types of Exploitation	8
Location of Exploitation	9
Victim Characteristics	10
Socioeconomic Characteristics	11
Education Level	11
History of Abuse.....	12
Findings Related to Service Providers.....	13
Diverse Needs of Trafficking Victims	13
Barriers to Self-Sufficiency.....	13
Effective Strategies	14
Limitations of Available Services.....	15
Methodology	16
Human Trafficking in Silicon Valley Survey	16
Sample Construction	16
Survey Design.....	17
Data Collection	18
Data Tabulation and Analysis.....	18
Limitations	18
Case Manager Interviews	19
Sample Construction	19
Interview Guide	19
Analytic Method	20
Limitations	20
Conclusion	21
Epilogue - Law Enforcement's Changing Perspective	22
References	24
Appendix A.....	27

Overview and Recommendations

Human trafficking has become one of the most lucrative criminal enterprises around the world. The United Nations International Labour Organization recently released findings marking this crime as a \$150 billion global industry.¹ The magnitude of this crime is also significant at the local level, with California ranking as one of the nation's top four destination states for trafficked individuals². Within the state, the San Francisco Bay Area has been identified as a particular hotspot.³

Despite these jarring facts, the nature and extent of human trafficking in Silicon Valley are not well understood. In response to this challenge, Silicon Valley Community Foundation and the Juniper Networks Foundation Fund partnered to commission a study of human trafficking in Silicon Valley. The study was developed and administered by Not For Sale, a San Francisco-based anti-human-trafficking organization that works to combat the crime both locally and internationally.

The findings presented in this report are intended to spark conversation, identify opportunities for cross-sector collaboration and further study, while also presenting a focused set of recommendations geared toward addressing this evolving problem.

Key Findings

The study draws heavily on data gathered from community-based organizations located in Santa Clara and San Mateo counties. A survey was completed by case managers at 11 of these organizations to capture information from case files on 232 trafficking victims who were served between 2011 and 2013. In-depth interviews were also conducted with 21 case managers at these same organizations. An epilogue contains highlights from interviews subsequently conducted with high-ranking officials from district attorneys' offices and other government agencies.

The study's key findings are presented below.

- Most of the victims in this study were female (86 percent), young when they first experienced exploitation and poor. In fact, the findings indicate that poverty is a risk factor for human trafficking regardless of the type of exploitation endured. It is also a barrier to victims' long-term recovery.
- While commercial sexual exploitation was the most common form of trafficking reported in this study, forced labor also was evident. The International Labour Organization speculates that the incident rate of forced labor is about 300 percent higher than that of commercial sexual exploitation; among the data collected through the Federal Human Trafficking Reporting System, forced labor is more common among undocumented immigrants. Because San Mateo and Santa Clara counties are home to some of the highest concentrations of immigrants in the state, the risk factors that define vulnerability to labor trafficking are particularly relevant for this region.
- More than 50 percent of identified trafficking victims were born in the United States; 19 percent in Mexico; and 18 percent in Asia. This defies the public perception that human trafficking is a crime that occurs mostly in other parts of the world and that victims are from other countries.
- Incidents of exploitation often occurred to the same victim in multiple locations across the Bay Area, indicating that traffickers frequently relocate their victims to avoid raising suspicion.
- Victims often turn to community-based organizations when they first seek help. But most of these organizations lack capacity and resources to adequately address victims' long-term needs for job-skills training, lawful work experience and affordable housing. Victims of trafficking are reported to have more complex needs – and over much longer periods of time – than other client populations.

1 International Labour Organization, 2014

2 International Labour Organization, 2014

3 Harris, 2012

Recommendations

Based on the findings above, we offer the following recommendations for service providers, employers and policymakers.

1. Expand on preliminary research to conduct further study on the prevalence of human trafficking. More accurate data is needed on the number of human trafficking victims, investigations and arrests in Silicon Valley. This study likely underestimates the true number of victims, having drawn information from a subset of non-governmental agencies known to serve these victims. Additional research that expands upon the findings presented in this report – as well as more focused research to look at specific aspects of human trafficking, such as labor trafficking – would be valuable.
2. Develop common definitions and tools to identify victims across law enforcement, government agencies and community-based organizations. Many human trafficking victims do not report their exploitation to the police. Instead, they may seek the help of community-based organizations that serve domestic violence and sexual assault victims, or of community health clinics and other groups that assist immigrants or people of a particular ethnicity.⁴ Therefore, it is critical that local jurisdictions have common assessment and screening tools to appropriately identify victims of human trafficking.
3. Offer more training for first responders and service providers. Because victims of trafficking often have more complex needs that continue over longer periods of time than other client populations, training is critical for first responders and service providers. A specific area of focus includes the T and U visa process for immigrant or refugee victims. The service providers in this study were largely unaware of this process and not proactively pursuing this benefit with victims. In addition, sex traffickers often operate in multijurisdictional networks, transporting their victims to various brothels, motels, communities and towns. Because of this, victim identification training must be implemented not just in one jurisdiction, but in neighboring jurisdictions as well.⁵
4. Provide services for victims to achieve long-term stability and economic self-sufficiency. While there is a general need for more high-quality resources to address the unique, complex, diverse and extensive needs of trafficking victims, there is a particular need for services that can support victims with affordable housing, relevant professional training and assistance identifying and obtaining viable employment. There is clearly an opportunity for public-private partnerships to increase the quality of services, such as vocational and job training, while also supporting victims with specific employment pathways so that they can gain greater economic security and avoid future exploitation.
5. Expand multidisciplinary efforts to bring traffickers to justice and improve victim care within and across jurisdictions. It is critical for law enforcement agencies, other government agencies, health care professionals and victim service providers to work together to recognize and respond to incidents of human trafficking. And because human trafficking is not confined to a single jurisdiction, there is need for more collaboration among organizations and coalitions operating across Bay Area counties. California currently has nine regional task forces that address human trafficking, three of which are in the Bay Area. Representatives of these task forces could meet regularly to share knowledge and best practices.
6. Engage in advocacy efforts to pass laws that combat human trafficking. Since 2007, California has enacted several important laws to stem the tide of human trafficking. In 2012, a report issued by California's Attorney General identified some areas ripe for further legislation. Those included expanding California's Public Contractor Code to more fully address the use of forced labor among state contractors (similar to what has been done at the federal level), and mandating that health care professionals report suspected cases of human trafficking.

Conclusion

As we present this report, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has identified the San Francisco Bay Area as one of the three highest-intensity child sex trafficking areas in the nation. Given this context, we hope this report increases public awareness and understanding of the fact that human trafficking is happening here in Silicon Valley. We have also highlighted the nature and scope of this problem, as well as the challenges in identifying and serving victims. These issues demand our attention now, so that the region can combat this crime, protect and assist victims and bring traffickers to justice. This will require working together across sectors, interests and geographies. We look forward to creating a future without human trafficking in Silicon Valley.

Introduction

Purpose and Objectives

Today far too many men, women and children become victims of human trafficking around the world and here in the United States. Human trafficking is now one of the world's most profitable criminal enterprises, and California is one of the nation's top four destination states for trafficked human beings. The problem appears to be growing, and the San Francisco Bay Area has been identified as one of the state's hotspots for human trafficking.⁶ However, relatively little is known about the nature and scope of this problem in the region. For this reason, Silicon Valley Community Foundation and the Juniper Networks Foundation Fund partnered to commission a first-of-its-kind study of human trafficking in Silicon Valley. The study was conducted by Not For Sale, an internationally recognized organization in the fight against human trafficking, and had three primary objectives: to identify some of the key characteristics of victims and risk factors associated with human trafficking; to explore the landscape of available services to support these individuals; and to present recommendations to improve services and reduce vulnerability across the region. Given the early stage of human trafficking research in Silicon Valley, the findings in this report are intended to spur dialogue, identify opportunities for further collaboration and study and set a course of action to address this growing problem.

Overview of Methodology

To meet the study's primary objectives, the research team used a mixed methods approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative data to understand the nature and scope of human trafficking in Silicon Valley, defined as San Mateo and Santa Clara counties. Quantitative data was collected through a survey completed by service providers at participating community-based organizations (CBOs) on victims served over a three-year period (January 2011 – December 2013). This data was augmented with qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews with CBO service providers and one interview with a governmental agency staff member. See Appendix A for a list of participating CBOs.

Study Limitations

This study is focused on a hard-to-reach population and as such has certain limitations. The first and most important limitation is that the findings presented in this report are not generalizable to all human trafficking victims in the region and reflect only those seeking services from the CBOs participating in this study. Previous research on human trafficking points to many intrinsic challenges associated with understanding and calculating the true extent of the problem. This is because many human trafficking cases are believed to go unreported. As human trafficking activities often occur in conjunction with other crimes, such as domestic or gang violence, victims may easily be masked or misidentified as criminals themselves.⁷ Trafficking victims are also commonly resistant or fearful about cooperating with authorities, and language barriers can further hinder communication between service providers and exploited individuals.⁸ An additional complexity is the variation in definitions used by service organizations to identify human trafficking victims, making the ability to identify individuals exploited through human trafficking, as opposed to other crimes, difficult. Lastly, multiple organizations may serve the same individual in different contexts, raising the likelihood of duplicative data and double-counting.⁹

The result of these challenges is the near impossibility of obtaining accurate quantitative information about the prevalence of human trafficking statewide and within specific regions. Challenges to identify the true scale of the problem should not prevent actionable steps to address it. This study does offer valuable and compelling insights into the populations affected by human trafficking, their needs, and the availability and effectiveness of current services to meet those needs.

6 Harris, 2012
7 McGaha and Evans, 2009
8 Caliber Associates, 2007
9 Harris, 2012

Definition of Human Trafficking

For purposes of this study, human trafficking was defined as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.”¹⁰ This definition was established by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime in 2000 and is the basis of definitions used by the U.S. State Department and the California Department of Justice.

Human trafficking takes different forms, as outlined in Figure 1 below. Based on research findings, the most common form of trafficking in Silicon Valley is commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) occurring both within Silicon Valley and in the nine-county Bay Area. Victims are largely young women, U.S. citizens and individuals of Hispanic or Asian ethnicity, who may become vulnerable due to economic desperation, low levels of education and past histories of familial abuse, neglect and homelessness. Victims of trafficking exhibit wide-ranging and complex needs, and make up a more challenging, time intensive and costly population to serve compared with other victim populations, yet in some cases they have access to fewer resources for recovery and long-term support.

Figure 1 - Primary Types of Human Trafficking¹¹

Type	Definition
Sex trafficking or commercial sexual exploitation	Sex trafficking is the act of forcing, coercing or transporting a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act. It commonly includes forced prostitution on the street (under the control of a pimp) or in an establishment operating under the guise of a strip club, bar, massage parlor, modeling or pornography studio or escort service. Sex trafficking is also referred to as commercial sexual exploitation (CSE).
Labor trafficking	Labor trafficking, also referred to as forced labor, is the act of forcing a person to work for little or no money. It can include forced labor in underground markets and sweatshops, as well as legitimate businesses such as hotels, factories, restaurants, construction sites, farming, landscaping, nail salons and traveling sales crews.
Domestic servitude	Domestic servitude is the act of forcing a person to live and work in the homes of employers who confiscate or collude with traffickers to confiscate their legal documents and prevent them from leaving. Domestic workers can be U.S. citizens, lawfully admitted foreign nationals or undocumented immigrants.

Global Context

The crime of human trafficking has been identified in virtually every country around the world¹², generating an estimated \$150 billion¹³ annually across both legitimate and illegitimate industries. An estimated 20 million to 30 million¹⁴ people are exploited through human trafficking across the globe. Despite coordinated international efforts, human trafficking incident rates are on the rise.

Around the globe, traffickers target vulnerable individuals and communities using sophisticated manipulation tactics that center on deception, fraud and coercion.¹⁵ Victims of trafficking are often marginalized people who live

10 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2000

11 State of California Department of Justice, 2013

12 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012

13 International Labour Organization, 2014

14 Walk Free, 2013; Besler, 2005

15 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004

in poverty and lack economic opportunities.¹⁶ Individuals who have suffered emotional, physical or sexual abuse prior to being trafficked are more susceptible to the coercive tactics employed by traffickers.¹⁷ Once trafficked, victims are often subjected to severe psychological and physical abuses that result in post-traumatic stress disorders and persistent mental health issues. Starvation, confinement, physical abuse, rape and forced drug use are some of the abusive tactics favored by traffickers to retain control over their victims. Physical and psychological abuses are supplemented by isolation and a lack of a support system, which can result in dependency on the trafficker.

Reports suggest that the United States is among the top destination countries for human trafficking in the world.¹⁸ According to the United Nations' International Labour Organization, 16.4 million trafficking victims were forced into labor and 4.5 million were forced into prostitution at any one time.¹⁹ In recent years, there has been a sharp increase in global awareness about the crime of human trafficking, as well as an uptick in efforts to combat it. In the United States, for example, this rise has been evidenced by more than a 450 percent growth in the annual number of calls to the National Human Trafficking Resource Center Hotline, from roughly 5,800 calls in 2008 to nearly 32,000 in 2013.²⁰

Reports suggest that the United States is among the top destination countries for human trafficking in the world, along with Western Europe, Australia and Japan, which are the top three destinations for human trafficking.²¹ In the U.S., federal and state agencies provide support services to victims of human trafficking that include case management, protection during prosecution, compensation for exploitation, physical and mental health services, legal assistance and immigration services. Community-based organizations supplement these government initiatives by offering emergency shelter, programming to help victims attain financial independence and cultivate a social support network, education and technical training for employment, as well as other programs designed to enable independence, rehabilitation and empowerment.

Because of the diverse needs of trafficked individuals and their frequent movement across countries, states and cities, victims receive an inconsistent mix of services from a network of government agencies and government-funded CBOs focused on human trafficking, as well as a local network of CBOs focused on specific services for marginalized or at-risk populations. Efforts by service providers and task forces to effectively identify and collaboratively serve human trafficking victims continue to evolve both domestically and globally. Despite these coordinated efforts, definite quantitative data remains difficult to obtain at both the micro and macro levels.

National and State Context

An estimated 60,000 individuals are trafficked annually within the United States alone, the majority being U.S. citizens.²² Nearly one third of domestically trafficked victims are foreign nationals, with Mexico, Thailand, the Philippines, Honduras, Indonesia and Guatemala ranking as the top countries of origin. California is among the top four destination states for human trafficking domestically.

Human trafficking incident rates are highest in California's major metropolitan areas, with San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento and San Diego identified as hotspots.²³ The robust transportation infrastructure present in urban areas enables traffickers to move victims to locations where they can be exploited for higher prices, while high-density urban centers simultaneously afford traffickers an opportunity to conceal their crime.

In an effort to quantify the issue, the California Governor's Office of Emergency Services reported that between 2012 and 2013, a total of 1,628 victims of human trafficking were served by the nine federally funded task forces set up across the state in 2006, and that 698 of those victims were newly identified by those entities during that period. Between 2009 and 2012, the California Emergency Management Agency reported that over half of all trafficking victims served and reported were exploited in the sex industry, and almost a quarter were victims of labor trafficking. However, due to the complications associated with identifying and tracking labor trafficking victims, data about the size of this population remains in question. In the cases where the trafficking victim's country of

16 Coonan and Thompson, 2003

17 Walker, 2013; Leidholdt, 2013; Estes and Weiner, 2001

18 Belser, 2005; U.S. Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2013

19 International Labour Organization, 2014

20 Polaris Project, 2014

21 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006

22 Walk Free, 2013

23 Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking, 2012; Harris, 2012; U.S. Department of Justice, 2006

origin was known, over 70 percent were found to be U.S. nationals.²⁴ Though there have been conflicting reports about the number of incidents of trafficking in California, the district attorney for Alameda County reported that 43 percent of California's human trafficking incidents occur in the Bay Area, with particularly high incident rates of commercial sexual exploitation of children occurring in San Francisco.²⁵

Estimates on the scale of the issue across the Bay Area vary significantly between local government entities and service providers, and publicly available data about these cases is both limited and inconsistent. Efforts to understand the scope of this crime in the Bay Area continue, with this study marking a key step forward in advancing awareness about the issue of human trafficking in Silicon Valley.

Findings

Given the global, national and state context discussed previously, understanding the nature of human trafficking in Silicon Valley is particularly important and timely. Data was collected through surveys and interviews with service providers and then aggregated to identify at-risk populations and gaps in the services available to victims across Santa Clara and San Mateo counties. Findings are intended to improve the regional understanding of this crime and offer opportunities to combat it at the local level.

Understanding the scope of labor trafficking in this region and the mechanisms that enable it to go undetected are particularly relevant, especially as the immigrant population continues to grow in San Mateo and Santa Clara counties. San Mateo's immigrant population is one of the fastest growing in California and has been for the past 10 years. Given the rapid pace of growth and development in Silicon Valley, it is especially important to understand the nature of human trafficking in the region and ensure efforts to counteract and prevent the crime are swift and effective.

Findings Related to Victims

In an effort to gather more robust information about the nature of human trafficking in Silicon Valley, a survey was conducted to engage service providers working in the region. The survey was designed to explore the nature of exploitation that victims had reported, while also collecting demographic and socioeconomic information. Service providers from 11 CBOs completed surveys about 232 trafficking victims who received support services between 2011 and 2013. Service providers referenced case records and drew from personal interactions with clients to answer survey questions.

Types of Exploitation

The type of exploitation that victims had experienced was reported in 187 of the 232 surveys completed by service providers. Commercial sexual exploitation was the specific type of exploitation most often reported and represented 61 percent of the completed surveys, followed by forced labor (26 percent) and domestic servitude (13 percent). The high number of CSE incidents reported in the survey is consistent with data reported at the regional, state and federal levels.²⁶ In 2012, approximately 80 percent of the human trafficking incidents reported to the national Human Trafficking Reporting System involved CSE (see Table 1 below).

24 Harris, 2012

25 Walker, 2013; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013

26 Polaris Project, 2014; Harris, 2012

Table 1 - Reported Types of Exploitation

Type of Exploitation	Number of Incidents ^a
Commercial sexual exploitation	115
Forced labor	49
Domestic servitude	25
Forced marriage	10
Forced begging	5
Other ^b	27

^a Since several service providers reported victims had experienced multiple forms of exploitation, the number of victims does not total the number of completed surveys.

^b "Other" forms of exploitation include organ trafficking and unspecified forms.

Location of Exploitation

Nearly half of the surveys (106) provided information on the county in which victims had reported experiencing a form of exploitation. Of those, 40 percent indicated victims were exploited in Santa Clara or San Mateo counties, with another 25 percent reporting exploitation in San Francisco County and 15 percent reporting exploitation in Alameda County (see Table 2 below).

Table 2 - Incidents of Human Trafficking by County

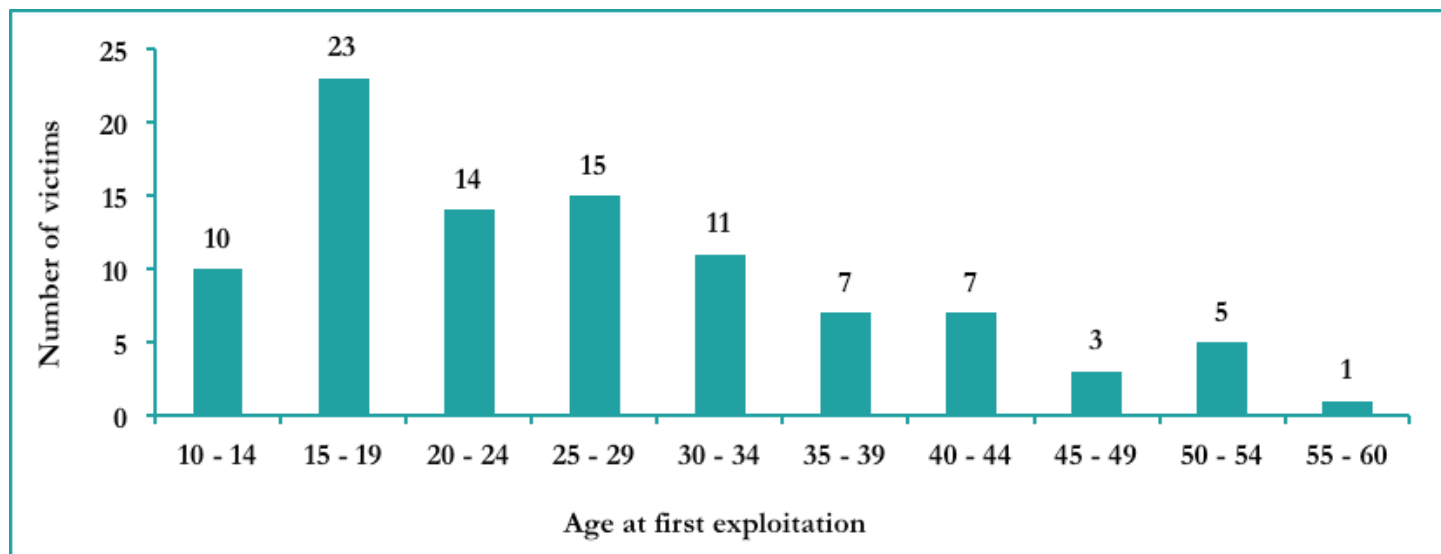
County	Number of Incidents
Santa Clara	31
San Francisco	23
Alameda	16
San Mateo	12
Sacramento	8
Contra Costa	4
Solano	3
Monterey	2
Fresno	1
Lassen	1
Los Angeles	1
Mendocino	1
San Benito	1
San Bernardino	1
San Joaquin	1

Victim Characteristics

Most of the 232 victims identified through the survey were female (86 percent); 12 percent were male; and 1 percent identified as transgender. The observed distribution of men and women across the types of exploitation reported in the study aligns with findings presented in several other reports.²⁷

In addition to gender, service providers were asked to report the age at which victims said they were first exploited, which is often an indicator of the extent of exploitation and abuse. Based on the 95 surveys for which this information was available, the age of first exploitation ranged from 10 to 60, with a median age of 17 (see Figure 2 below).

Figure 2 - Reported Age of First Exploitation



The survey information also indicated that victims of CSE were exploited at a younger age than those who experienced other forms of human trafficking (see Table 3 below). This finding is consistent with previous reports indicating that teens and young adults are most vulnerable to CSE.²⁸

Table 3 - Median Age at First Exploitation by Form of Exploitation

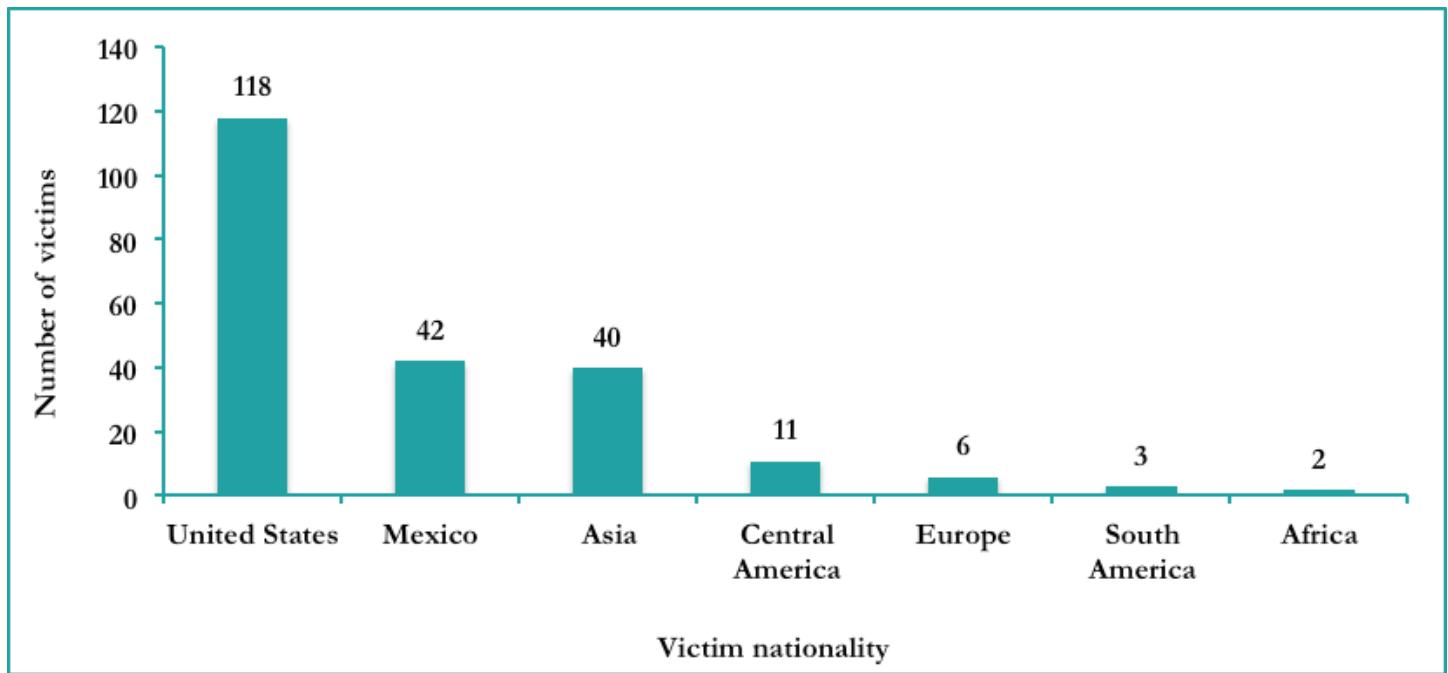
Form of exploitation	Median age
Commercial sex	20
Forced labor	29.5
Domestic servitude	29

Nearly all of the completed surveys (222 of 232) provided information on the nationality of victims. More than half (118) of the victims were reported to have been born in the United States, while 104 were born outside of the United States, representing 26 different countries of origin. Among the victims who were foreign born, most came from Mexico (42), followed by Asia (40) and Central America (11) (see Figure 3 on page 11).

27 Walk Free, 2013; U.S. State Department, 2012; Harris, 2012

28 Sewell, 2014; Walker, 2013; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2012; Clawson, Dutch, Solomon and Grace, 2009

Figure 3 - Nationality of Victims



The fact that the majority of victims in this study were reported as U.S. nationals is consistent with the findings of California's nine human trafficking task forces. In 2011 and 2012, the task forces reported that 72 percent of the 1,277 trafficking victims identified were from the U.S.²⁹ The California Attorney General suggested that the observed increase in the number of human trafficking victims may be attributed, in part, to the increased involvement of local and transnational gangs in trafficking activities.³⁰ This increase in gang involvement is thought to be a product of the high payouts, potential profit margins and relatively low risk associated with human trafficking.

Socioeconomic Characteristics

Data related to victims' economic status prior to being trafficked was limited, with only 72 completed surveys (31 percent) reporting this information. Among the surveys with this information, most (86 percent) indicated that victims were living in poverty, as defined by the Federal Poverty Guidelines, immediately prior to being trafficked. This finding suggests that poverty is a risk factor associated with human trafficking. In addition to being a risk factor, victims from lower socioeconomic backgrounds have been found to experience more difficulty in a trafficking situation, take longer to extract themselves from an exploitative situation and encounter greater barriers during their recovery.³¹

Education Level

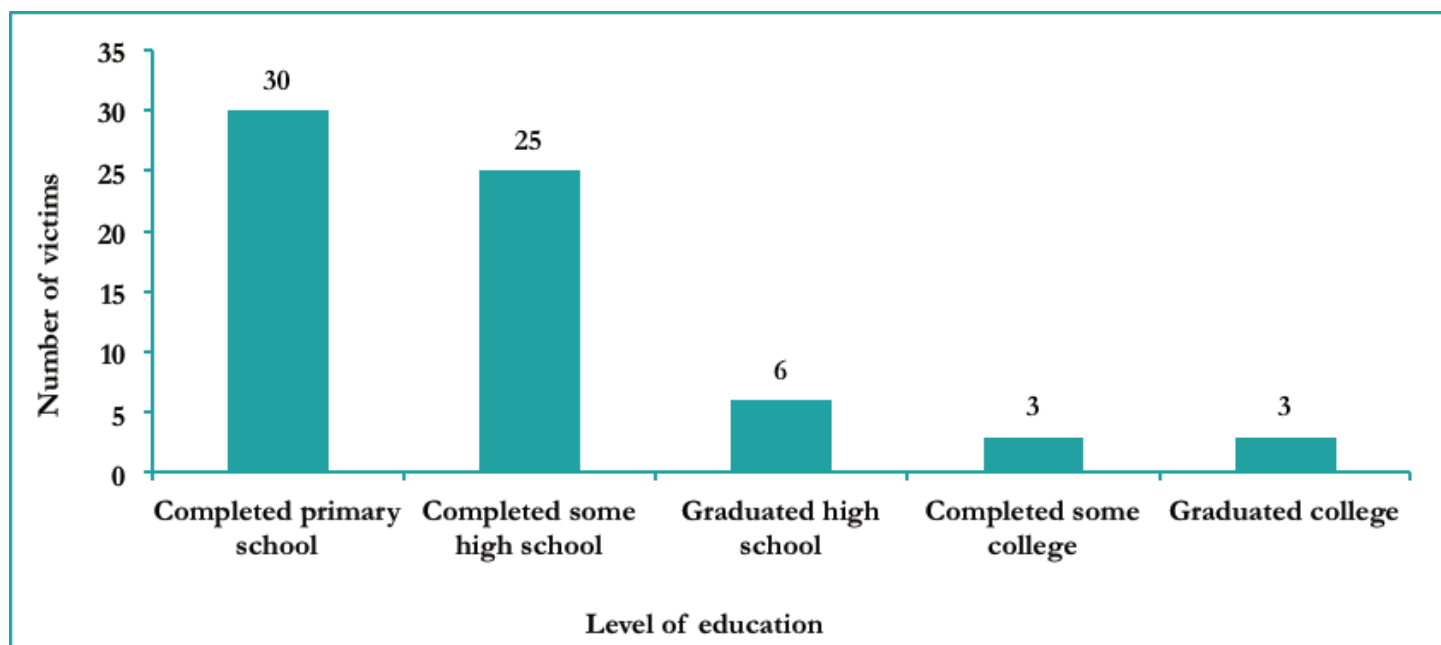
Data related to victims' education level prior to being trafficked was also limited, with only 67 completed surveys (29 percent) reporting this information. Among the victims for whom this information was reported, most (30 people, or 45 percent) had only completed primary education, followed by 25 (37 percent) who had completed some high school. Very few victims had completed high school or college (see Figure 4 below).

29 Harris, 2012

30 Harris, 2012

31 Busch-Armendariz, Nsonwu and Cook-Heffron, 2011

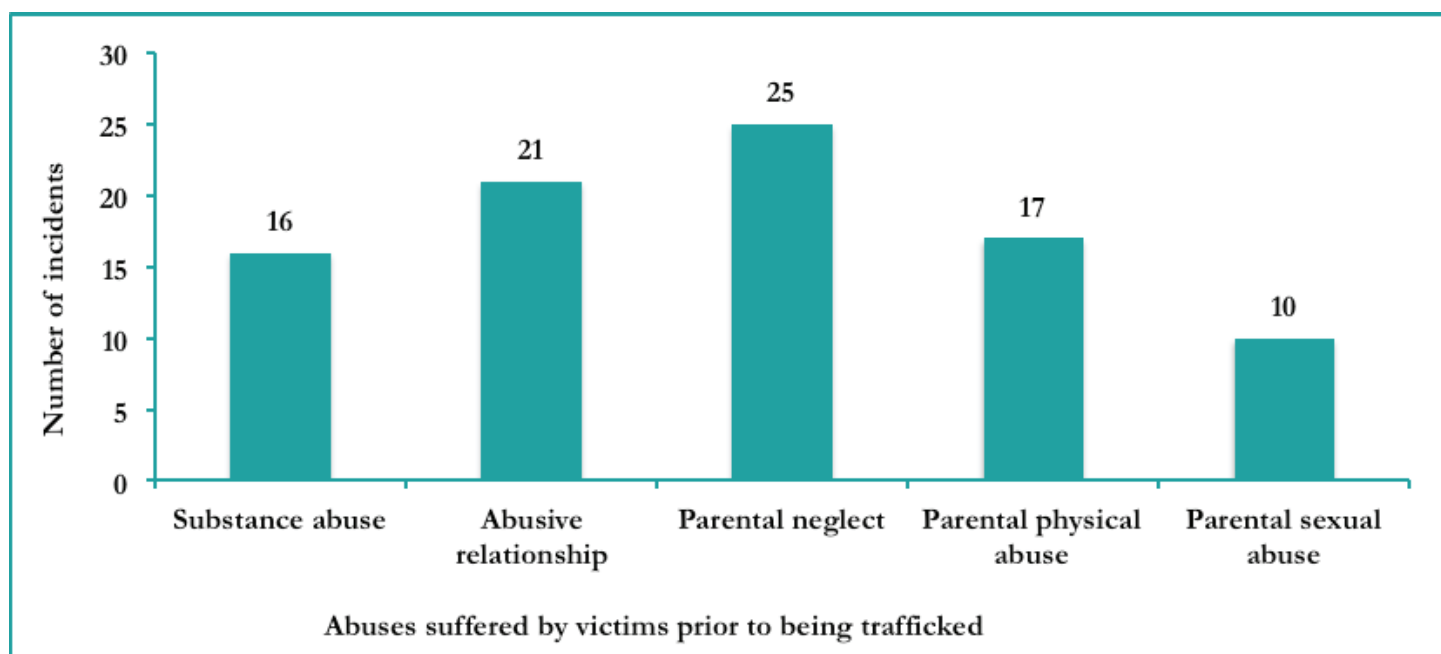
Figure 4 - Education Level Attained Prior to Exploitation



History of Abuse

Very few (44) of the completed surveys included information about the types and extent of abuse victims had experienced prior to being trafficked. Of those 44 surveys, 78 percent indicated that victims had experienced multiple forms of abuse prior to being trafficked (see Figure 5 below). The forms of abuse reported to have been experienced by victims are consistent with past research that presents childhood abandonment as a significant risk factor in human trafficking.³² Recent studies of CSE youth in the Bay Area found that over 75 percent of the 113 youth studied reported a history of child abuse or neglect, and nearly 70 percent had a history of trauma.³³

Figure 5 - Precursors to Exploitation



³² Walker, 2013; Estes and Weiner, 2001

³³ Basson, Rosenblatt and Haley, 2012; Farley and Kelly, 2000

Of the 44 completed surveys with information about the victims' living situations prior to being trafficked, 34 percent indicated that victims had been homeless and 50 percent indicated that victims had run away from home or been forced out. These findings suggest that individuals without a home are vulnerable to trafficking and exploitation.

Findings Related to Service Providers

In addition to the information gathered by case managers about victims from case records, this study also included the perspectives of service providers working with human trafficking victims. This section presents the qualitative analysis of 13 interviews conducted with case managers from 11 CBOs serving victims of trafficking across Silicon Valley. There were three domestic violence service providers, one community welfare agency, two legal service providers, two service providers for at-risk youth, one homeless shelter, one humanitarian aid organization and one shelter for human trafficking victims.

Case managers participating in the interviews were asked 22 questions that focused on four main issues: the diverse needs of trafficking victims; the barriers to self-sufficiency that are unique to human trafficking victims; effective strategies that participating CBOs have identified when serving this population; and the limitations of available services. The following section lays out information gleaned from the interviews.

Diverse Needs of Trafficking Victims

Several interview participants stated that the needs of trafficking victims are similar to, but more complex than, the needs of other individuals they serve – specifically those who have suffered domestic, sexual and/or physical abuse. Addressing their needs well requires comprehensive services, including the provision of safety and protection, housing, trauma counseling, healthcare and legal support. Trafficking victims were also said to need extensive mental and physical health care, along with a variety of financial, legal and educational services. Interview participants noted that the need for support services often extends over a longer period of time due to the complex nature of abuses and the lack of social and financial resources available to victims. As one case manager noted, “victims of commercial sexual exploitation need three to four times the amount of time and effort.” Child victims and those exploited as minors were also said to need particularly intensive care.

Barriers to Self-Sufficiency

During each interview, the participating case manager was asked to discuss the challenges trafficking victims face along their path to independence and self-sufficiency. Three interdependent challenges emerged as themes throughout the conversations: (A) job skills and employment; (B) financial challenges; and (C) accessing social and welfare services. Each challenge is discussed below.

(A) Job skills and employment

Nearly all case managers described the challenges trafficking victims face when trying to secure legitimate employment, an important step in achieving self-sufficiency. Several issues were identified as contributing factors. Interview participants identified low levels of education as a top inhibitor for victims seeking employment. Many also indicated that victims' lack of professional skills and “legitimate” work experience posed a challenge during job searches and required additional support and training from the case managers. Case managers also pointed to “gaps in their resumes,” which prove difficult to explain to potential employers without jeopardizing a victim's safety, privacy and recovery. Interview respondents also indicated that some victims may have criminal records tied to their involvement in trafficking that make them ineligible for jobs. Overcoming these and other issues may fall outside the scope of a service provider's capacity or expertise, and may prove challenging for victims to navigate independently.

(B) Financial challenges

Interview participants indicated that substantial financial and economic challenges were a significant barrier to self-sufficiency for trafficking victims in Silicon Valley. The lack of access to affordable housing surfaced as a major concern in this area. As one case manager noted, “[There is a] ten-year waiting period to get on Section 8 [low-income] housing. Essentially, there are thousands of people competing for the remaining 5 percent of affordable housing.” Another case manager spoke to the high housing costs in Silicon Valley by saying, “Families struggle to pay the average rent of \$1,500/month. Single mothers with one to two children [who] are working for minimum wage, will find it impossible to pay rent and cover basic needs.” Financial challenges were said to be more extreme for women, which several case managers indicated may be because many of the female trafficking victims they serve are younger and single with dependents.

(C) Accessing social services

Trafficking victims, especially foreign nationals, were said to have challenges accessing and navigating the array of available social and welfare services. One case manager attributed this challenge to the lack of services that properly match clients' needs, saying: "The social service web has gaps. Often, a client won't qualify for the services they need due to limited resources in law enforcement and criminal justice systems."

The T Nonimmigrant Status (T visa) process is an example of a resource available to victims of human trafficking, albeit one that proves challenging for victims and the CBOs working to support them. Victims of trafficking can apply for a T visa if they are willing to comply with law enforcement and assist in the prosecution and investigation of human trafficking incidents and the associated perpetrators. In order to receive the federally funded benefits associated with this visa status, victims must file certain paperwork, participate actively in investigations and engage in relevant prosecution efforts made by law enforcement, which may include testifying against their trafficker. The requirements of supporting law enforcement may also trigger fear of retaliation and harm from trafficking rings, which prevents many victims from pursuing this option, and consequently from receiving this set of federally funded services and benefits. In addition to the hurdles associated with understanding and navigating the application process, many CBOs and victims are not aware that this option exists or opt not to go through the process since there are a limited number of T visas granted each year (5,000). Interview participants pointed out that, as a result, many victims opt to pursue a refugee visa rather than a T visa, further limiting CBOs' ability to identify this population and connect them with available services.

Some case managers indicated that language skills and cultural differences exacerbate victims' ability to effectively access social services. A case manager who works for a CBO providing services specifically to the Asian client base stated that, "Asian clients ... have limited knowledge of the culture, legal system, immigration requirements and employment rights. They tend to remain more reserved and avoid seeking help."

Some interview participants noted that child victims and the children of victims may require support that extends beyond the scope of what schools and CBOs are able to provide. One case manager described how some "schools do not offer or have the resources to accommodate children who lack English proficiency, education and classroom skills." The interview participants noted that this subset of the human trafficking population may have particular trouble accessing services that will enable a smooth recovery process and, ultimately, a pathway to self-sufficiency.

Effective Strategies

Interview participants described three strategies that they have found effective when supporting trafficking victims' diverse needs, including: (A) training; (B) tailored case management and comprehensive support models; and (C) collaboration and coordination among service providers. The importance and impact of each approach, as expressed by participating case managers, is outlined below.

(A) Training

Many case managers stressed the importance of developing staff expertise in the area of human trafficking and educating their team about the unique needs of this population in order to provide effective services that facilitate recovery. Because many of the case managers interviewed work for CBOs that are not specifically, or only, focused on human trafficking victims, such training was thought to be particularly important. For example, a trafficking victim may seek help from a CBO that specializes in services for domestic violence victims. The case managers there may not have the proper training needed to identify a trafficking victim, respond to their unique needs, or connect them to special resources (like T visas).

Interview participants spoke of the need for a culturally diverse team. Given the large number of Mexican, Central American and Asian trafficking victims, case managers identified a need to hire team members with a robust set of language skills while also offering broad-based cultural sensitivity training at the organizational level. Case managers from CBOs that serve international clients discussed their efforts to hire staff from diverse ethnic backgrounds who speak multiple languages, as a means of overcoming barriers that may prevent victims from accessing the full array of services available to them.

(B) Tailored case management and comprehensive support models

Several case managers described the value of utilizing individually tailored case management strategies to support each client's needs. One case manager described a participatory approach used by the CBO to shape client engagement, saying: "Our case management is tailored to each survivor and gives the individual the freedom to focus on aspects of their lives they feel are the most important." Such strategies are specific to the individual's goals and adapted as the victim progresses towards independence. To support victims' complex and evolving needs, several interview participants indicated that they have adopted extensive case management tactics. These interview participants indicated that they track victims throughout the recovery process to streamline the transition between programs and ensure that programming is meeting each victim's evolving needs. However, case managers also noted that such monitoring is done at the CBO level, and that effective mechanisms are lacking for service providers who wish to follow client progress or recovery once they transition beyond that particular CBO.

(C) Collaboration and coordination

A number of interview participants noted that CBOs across the community are actively collaborating in an effort to address the needs of trafficking victims. As an example, some CBOs that specialize in serving victims of human trafficking have offered training for other CBOs in an effort to build that organization's awareness of the crime and the specific needs trafficking victims face. These trainings focus on how to identify trafficking victims and differentiate them from victims of other abuses, how to develop targeted programs and how to facilitate the transfer of cases across programs and organizations.

Increased collaboration and communication between service providers were identified as goals by interview participants who were intent on more effectively coordinating services and facilitating referrals for clients. Several interview participants spoke about the limitations of their individual CBO's services and stressed the need to bridge the array of services offered by various organizations across the region to provide a more comprehensive and accessible set of services to individuals, while also facilitating connections and cooperation between providers. Several interview participants spoke of their participation in a "safety net" committee – an informal network through which service providers connect to develop a comprehensive set of resources and services that are available to different victim populations.

Limitations of Available Services

Interview participants discussed limitations associated with both the spectrum and depth of services currently available to human trafficking victims in Silicon Valley. The limitations presented by case managers ranged from sector-wide issues to specific operational challenges. The majority of interview participants stated that CBOs struggle to identify the scope of human trafficking, find it challenging to obtain necessary funding to properly address the issue and do not have the capacity to offer sufficient programming to meet the diverse and broad needs of this population while also fulfilling their mission and serving their target population.

Many case managers described the lack of funding available for services that address the full scope of a trafficking victim's needs. One case manager stated: "The organization's funding is to be used for the victim only. Victim's family members often need paperwork done as well. We are not funded to provide help for the family." Another case manager said: "It is difficult to resettle families of more than four members due to financial restrictions and program budgets. [We] focus on services to assist single males and single mothers." In addition to funding, mission alignment surfaced as a key limitation. Several interview participants indicated that, though their CBO's mission is not tied to human trafficking, they are absorbing these individuals through other channels despite not having tailored services or staff trained specifically to meet this population's needs.

Several case managers also noted that limitations of capacity, resources and funding make child victims (17 and younger) particularly difficult to support. Child victims were said to require more intensive assistance than other populations. Those who are victims of CSE require particularly extensive attention and services. A few interview participants indicated that children who have been in the foster care system are more likely to be exposed to trafficking and one case manager noted that these youth may have a better chance of obtaining support: "[U.S. national] child victims are often federal foster children, so there are many options. Funding is not so available to other individuals of trafficking."

Some interview participants stated that a lack of knowledge about needs and resources available to human trafficking victims undermines the relevancy and quality of service provided for this population. One interview

participant stated: “There is little to no awareness that those awarded trafficking visas (T visas) automatically qualify for witness services programs. After contacting organizations throughout the United States, very few knew of the qualification for witness services programs.”

The majority of case managers raised concerns about the lack of short- and long-term housing available to victims. “Housing is most important because stability is essential. Beneficiaries are safer...with stable housing.” The lack of available housing was consistently attributed to inadequate funding, since funding was said to determine the length of time that an organization can fund housing for clients. One case manager spoke of how their CBO can only offer six weeks of housing, but would like to offer three to four months. Another said, “Housing is really expensive, so funding housing is extremely difficult. Without a roof how do you get out?”

Case managers also raised concerns about limited funding available for physical and mental health services, which exacerbates the challenges human trafficking victims have when trying to access quality care. One case manager noted that, “[we] only have two paid therapists for over 10,000 cases [due to funding limitations].”

In addition to the funding and capacity concerns raised by interview participants, many indicated that victims lack job skills that are relevant in the local job market. Consequently, case managers identified a lack of genuine employment opportunities for trafficking victims. Most case managers described the need for vocational training programs through which victims can develop skills for the local job market. According to one case manager, “Employment plays the key role in long-term freedom.” Several others specifically addressed the importance of supporting victims in the development of professional skills, with one saying: “Without employment skills there is no chance of growth or sustainability. Teaching [survivors] how to apply for jobs and how to present themselves professionally leads to self-sufficiency.”

Methodology

Two primary methods were utilized to gather the data for this study: the Human Trafficking in Silicon Valley Survey administered to service providers at participating CBOs and in-depth interviews with service providers from a subset of these same organizations. Each of these methods is described below.

Human Trafficking in Silicon Valley Survey

The Human Trafficking in Silicon Valley Survey (survey) was utilized to gather descriptive information about human trafficking victims served by CBOs in San Mateo and Santa Clara counties over a three-year time period. Consistent with the United Nations Trafficking Protocol, human trafficking in this study was defined as: “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.”

Sample Construction

For purposes of the study, a snowball sampling method was used to identify potential CBOs believed to provide services to human trafficking victims. The South Bay Trafficking Task Force (one of California’s nine regional task forces referenced earlier in the report) and the South Bay Coalition to End Human Trafficking (see Epilogue) provided an initial list of 36 CBOs for inclusion in the study. Of these, 25 were invited to participate in the study because they were known to provide an array of services, such as financial, legal, medical and housing to a diverse population and known to have an ability to identify human trafficking victims. In addition to CBOs, there are 25 government agencies in San Mateo and Santa Clara counties that provide services to victims of human trafficking. However, most of these agencies either declined to participate or did not participate in the survey or interviews due to agency-specific restrictions on information-sharing, privacy laws or staff capacity issues.

Eleven of the 25 CBOs (44 percent) that were invited to participate in the study chose to do so. Case managers from these participating CBOs were asked to complete an online survey for every victim of human trafficking served by their organization between January 2011 and December 2013. A total of 232 surveys were completed. The CBOs that opted not to participate in the study referenced an inability to actually identify individuals in their programs as human trafficking victims, or a lack of sufficient records and resources to provide adequate responses to survey and

interview questions. Although the sample of 11 CBOs may appear small, a 44 percent response rate is acceptable for an in-depth survey of a small hidden population.³⁴

Survey Design

The survey instrument was designed by a team of researchers with extensive expertise developing and implementing international human trafficking monitoring systems. Social science and survey research experts from the University of San Francisco also contributed to the design of the survey instrument. The survey instrument, which included 29 questions, is available upon request from Silicon Valley Community Foundation.

The survey was comprised of six components: (1) demographic information; (2) victim's current socioeconomic status; (3) victim's prior socioeconomic status at the time of exploitation; (4) status as a foreign national; (5) nature of exploitation endured; and (6) period of abuse in the Bay Area. Figure 6 below illustrates these components and the specific items that were included in each component. To preserve the privacy of individuals, personal identifying information was not collected.

Figure 6 - Case Record Survey Structure

Demographic information	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Gender• Age• Nationality and ethnicity• Immigration and citizenship status
Current socioeconomic status	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Living situation• Employment and income• Education
Prior socioeconomic status	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Living situation• History of abuse• Employment and income• Education
Foreign national status	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• How individual arrived in the United States• Reason for immigrating to the United States
Nature of exploitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Age at which the individual was first trafficked• Forms of trafficking and abuse(s) suffered
Experience of trafficking in the Bay Area	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Location of trafficking in the Bay Area• Nature of exploitation in the Bay Area• Industry in which the individual was trafficked

Data Collection

The survey was completed online by a case manager at each participating CBO. The case manager was contacted prior to survey administration by the research team to ensure participation and provided with detailed written instructions for completing the survey. A follow up phone call was also conducted by the research team to address the case manager's specific questions. Case managers were instructed to complete the survey on behalf of each individual victim that received services from their agency between January 2011 and December 2013, drawing on information contained in case files or direct interactions with victims.

Data Tabulation and Analysis

Data were entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Following entry, the data were cleaned, using selected techniques to enhance data integrity. For instance, frequencies were run on all variables to ensure that all responses fell into the appropriate ranges. In some instances, there were no responses to specific survey items. None of these missing values were replaced; typically cases with missing data were dropped from analysis.

After data were cleaned, percentages were calculated and Pearson's chi-square test was run to test whether differences in percentages reached statistical significance. This statistical approach compares the observed frequency distribution to an expected distribution in which there are equal numbers of individuals in each category. Pearson's chi-square test can only be applied to categorical data when each group contains more than five individuals. The survey data generally fulfilled these requirements; however, tests were not performed when there were fewer than five individuals in a category. A statistically significant test indicates that the observed distribution is an important, systematic pattern that would not be observed randomly. For example, Pearson's chi-square test was used to determine whether the observed number of U.S. and foreign national victims reflected an important, systematic pattern different from what would be expected. The test revealed there were significantly more victims who were U.S. nationals in the sample than foreign nationals.

Limitations

It is important to note that there are various limitations with the data collection methods utilized in this study. First, the snowball sampling approach may have led to the creation of a biased sample because the organizations included in the sample were known to each other and were likely to provide similar services to similar types of human trafficking victims. For example, CBOs that provided services to victims of commercial sexual exploitation may have been more likely to identify CBOs that provided services to women, because a significant portion of sexual abuse victims are women. Thus the resulting sample may not have adequately reflected the diversity of CBOs that provide services to other types of victims, such as men and children.

Second, the survey was not intended to provide a comprehensive picture of the actual incidence of human trafficking in Silicon Valley but rather to shed light on the general scope and nature of the issue in our area. Approximately 60 percent of the victims represented through the survey were reported to have been exploited elsewhere and then relocated to Silicon Valley where they sought the necessary services. As a result, the number of victims identified may have overestimated the number actually exploited in Silicon Valley. Conversely, victims exploited in Silicon Valley who did not seek services from a participating CBO were not included. In this manner, the survey may have underestimated the total number of victims exploited in Silicon Valley and underrepresented segments of the victim population that are reticent to seek services, or have been identified as victims of other abuses.³⁵

The third and final limitation related to the survey was that a case manager was asked to complete an individual survey on behalf of each individual victim served. Most case managers used information from the victim's case file to complete the survey. While case records generally contained extensive demographic information and details about how the victim had been trafficked and exploited, they did not typically include extensive information about the victim's socioeconomic status (education, employment and poverty status) and personal history (parental neglect, abuse, homelessness). While some case managers may have answered questions about the victim's socioeconomic status and personal history based on information gleaned from previous informal discussions with the victim, many left those questions blank. Consequently, there was a low response rate for questions about victims' socioeconomic status and personal history.

It is also possible that multiple case managers from different CBOs filled out surveys for the same victim. To reduce

the potential for duplicate observations, case managers were provided a list of participating CBOs and advised to crosscheck whether a partner CBO had completed the survey for their client population. Since case workers are generally aware of services that a victim is receiving from partner CBOs, this strategy for preventing duplicate observations was likely to have been effective.

Case Manager Interviews

Case managers were interviewed in order to develop a more detailed understanding of the services delivered to human trafficking victims. During the interviews, case managers discussed the challenges associated with helping victims recover and become self-sufficient. The information from these interviews highlights opportunities for community stakeholders to improve the services provided to human trafficking victims.

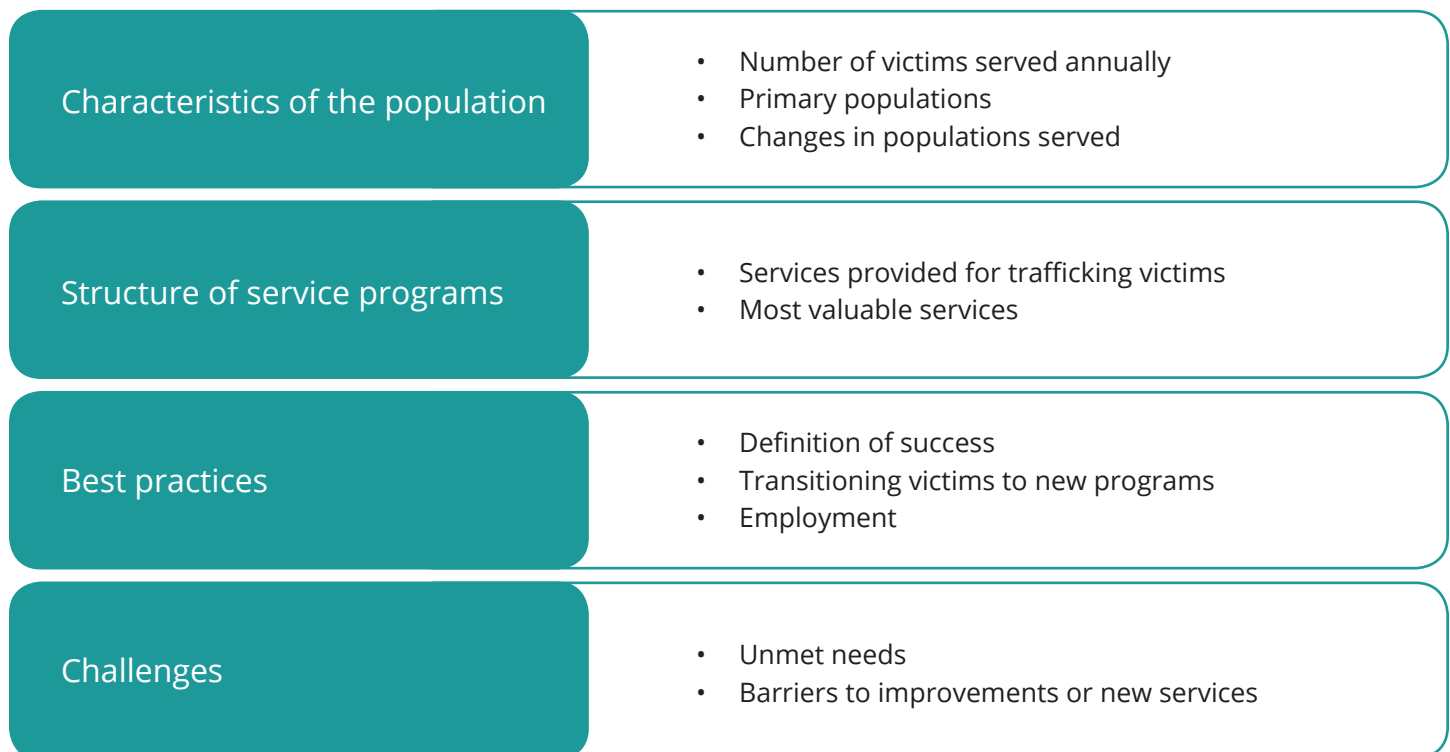
Sample Construction

Case managers and staff from the 11 CBOs that participated in the survey and one government agency that did not participate in the survey were interviewed. In most interviews, multiple (1-3) people from the organization participated. A total of 21 case managers from the 11 agencies were interviewed.

Interview Guide

The interview guide and questions were developed by an international team of experts and researchers at the University of San Francisco. The interview guide included 22 questions that addressed four themes: (1) characteristics of the population served; (2) approaches to providing services to victims; (3) best practices; and (4) challenges. Figure 7 below illustrates the thematic structure of the interview guide.

Figure 7 - Interview Structure



Case managers from each of the organizations were provided with detailed information about the structure of the interview and with the interview questions before the interview began. Trained researchers conducted the interviews in person, at agency offices. At the beginning of the interview, the interviewers discussed the purpose of the study and how information provided would be analyzed and included in a published report. The organization's history and key programs were discussed before beginning the structured 22-question interview. The interview participants' responses were transcribed during the interview and the transcribed responses were sent by email to the participant for review and approval.

Analytic Method

Thematic content analysis was performed for each interview to identify and elucidate the themes related to the provision of services to victims of human trafficking in Silicon Valley. Content analysis is widely used in the social sciences to analyze large quantities of text to systematically identify themes and patterns. Each interview was analyzed by multiple researchers to ensure consistent interpretations.

Limitations

One challenge, as noted earlier in this section, was the lack of representation of government agencies that were invited to participate in the study. This was primarily due to unresponsiveness and agency-specific protocols that may have made it difficult to share sensitive data and information. The result was that only one government agency participated in the in-depth interviews, of 25 agencies contacted. As a result, the report lacks the voice of governmental agencies whose services are central to the recovery and restoration of trafficking victims. The resulting challenge of drawing meaningful conclusions about a diverse, yet difficult to reach, population using a small and potentially unrepresentative sample, is reflective of a common reality researchers in the field of human trafficking face.

The mission and focus of the participating CBOs may have affected the results of the interviews on best practices and challenges for providing support to trafficking victims. If a disproportionate number of CBOs in the sample provide services to women, then the best practices and challenges may primarily reflect the practices and challenges of providing services to women, rather than to all trafficking victims. A key challenge may be to provide services that address the unique needs of underserved victim groups.

Conclusion

Information for this study was collected from over 200 case records and 21 staff members across 11 community-based organizations serving victims of human trafficking, from shelters to legal agencies and community welfare organizations. Conclusions, therefore, represent victims served by these agencies, and may not be applicable to additional victims who may be served by other CBOs and government agencies in Silicon Valley or across the Bay Area. That said, given the sheer absence of data about the nature of human trafficking in these counties up to this point, this study offers valuable and compelling insights into the populations affected, key risk factors and challenges in addressing the service needs of trafficking victims.

Commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) was the most common form of abuse experienced by human trafficking victims served by community-based organizations participating in this study. This finding is consistent with other reports that have documented trends in human trafficking across California.³⁶ Most of the victims represented in this study grew up in poverty and were exposed to abuse or neglect from childhood. Most of these victims were trafficked and exploited in Santa Clara County, but there were also a significant percentage of victims exploited in San Francisco or Alameda counties. In many cases, victims were exploited in more than one location across the Bay Area. As has been documented in other reports, this finding most likely indicates that traffickers move victims from place to place, in order to reduce the likelihood that they will be recognized by law enforcement.³⁷

Labor trafficking, by comparison, was much less common among the human trafficking victims represented in this study. This finding is at odds with state and federal research, which suggests that labor trafficking rates may significantly exceed CSE rates. Victims of labor trafficking were still more likely to be female than male, although the majority of male trafficking victims were exploited in labor. Labor trafficking victims were older than CSE victims, and were more likely to be foreign born, particularly from Mexico and China. A significant number of foreign-born human trafficking victims were living in the U.S. as undocumented immigrants at the time they were trafficked and exploited. More research is needed to understand the true state and magnitude of labor trafficking in Silicon Valley.

Overall, this study found that the common denominator among victims of trafficking was poverty, regardless of the form of exploitation endured. This was evidenced by reports from interview participants, that victims of human trafficking seeking services almost always arrived with nothing and needed even the most basic resources, including accommodation, clothing and toiletries.

Among the victims who managed to escape exploitation, economic barriers continued to represent one of the greatest challenges to long-term recovery. Multiple case managers who participated in this study cited the high cost of living in Silicon Valley and the lack of affordable housing as major barriers to financial independence and economic self-sufficiency. This barrier was deemed particularly significant given that human trafficking victims were often single women with dependents. Another barrier mentioned was the lack of employment options available to victims. While some service providers offer education and basic job readiness training, many felt the services were not focused, specific or extensive enough to fully equip victims to find the jobs with sufficient wages to meet basic living expenses. Several case managers felt that victims did not receive knowledge and tools that enabled long-term career-building, such as connections to employers in the community, skills that met the demands of the local job market, or placement into traineeships or internships that could build professional experience.

Challenges associated with obtaining employment may lead to dependency on social services and benefits, and are likely to have an effect on the quality of living and housing options available to these individuals. One potential result of these circumstances is that victims are unable to move beyond the stage of “surviving” to a stage of “thriving,” and so are likely to remain highly vulnerable to future exploitation.

In summary, there is need for more quality resources that can address the unique, complex, diverse and extensive needs of trafficking victims. Solutions that can enable victims to overcome barriers that have led to deeply-rooted vulnerability and pose a threat of potential re-exploitation are a priority. At present, the case managers included in this study indicated a lack of funding, resources and capacity necessary to meet these needs, particularly in the areas of affordable housing, organizational capacity building and assistance identifying and obtaining viable employment.

Epilogue - Law Enforcement's Changing Perspective

The Human Trafficking in Silicon Valley study was commissioned by Silicon Valley Community Foundation and Juniper Networks Foundation Fund to explore the nature and extent of human trafficking in San Mateo and Santa Clara counties. Cross-sector initiatives to combat human trafficking in Silicon Valley continue to evolve and have been gaining traction even as the study was being prepared. Since the research conducted for the study represents the perspectives of community-based organizations and the victims they serve, both SVCF and Juniper Networks Foundation Fund wanted to include the perspectives of law enforcement and government entities working to address this crime. Therefore, supplemental interviews were conducted with representatives of both sectors and those perspectives, along with an overview of the institutional work in each county, are represented in this epilogue.

The work in Santa Clara County is anchored by the South Bay Coalition to End Human Trafficking. Established in 2005 as a multidisciplinary response to human trafficking in the South Bay, the group provides comprehensive services to victims, raises awareness through outreach and education and provides professional training to service providers. Its broad membership includes academia, religious organizations, CBOs, government agencies and district attorneys' offices across multiple counties in the South Bay.

Federal funding supports another task force, the South Bay/San Jose Human Trafficking Task Force, which focuses on coordinating law enforcement, human trafficking victim services agencies and the U.S. Attorney's Office to identify and rescue trafficking victims and successfully prosecute traffickers. It is one of the nine regional task forces located throughout the state. In August 2014, Santa Clara County Supervisor Cindy Chavez convened another group, the Santa Clara County Human Trafficking Commission, as a high-level policy board to identify gaps as well as solutions to combat the problem.

Efforts in San Mateo County have focused most recently on the creation of a protocol for law enforcement to outline how first responders can detect and provide better support for victims. As Congresswoman Jackie Speier said while marking National Human Trafficking Awareness Day, January 11, 2014, "I am outraged that so few traffickers are actually prosecuted. For traffickers, commercial sexual exploitation of children is both less risky and more profitable than selling drugs. In fact, a pimp selling just four children can earn more than \$600,000 per year. What does it say about our country when a person is more likely to serve time for selling marijuana than a 14-year-old girl?"

San Mateo County Assistant District Attorney Albert Serrato, who is working to implement the protocols, says new collaborations established between public agencies and nonprofit service providers are enhancing the fight against human trafficking. "We can work together now to conduct sting operations, identify victims and prove that coercion is going on," he says. "Both sexual exploitation and labor trafficking are happening right under our noses, and raising awareness is a huge part of the overall plan."

A number of agencies are working to put the new protocol into effect, including all 22 of the county's local police departments, the county sheriff's office, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. The effort already has made a difference. After police asked hotel clerks around San Francisco International Airport to report unusual patterns of behavior by guests, a clerk noticed that one man had checked in multiple women over the course of just two days. His tip led to the arrest of three people and the rescue of five victims.

Paola Estanislao, deputy district attorney in Santa Clara County and head of its new human trafficking investigative unit, says that awareness campaigns among community groups and faith-based organizations are helping more people to understand that trafficking is not just an international problem, but a local one.

"Many in law enforcement compare the awareness of human trafficking today with where awareness was around domestic violence 20 or 25 years ago," she says. In 1988, a law came into effect that required the arrest and prosecution of anyone reported to have committed domestic violence. Up until that time, she says, it was a crime too often clouded by blaming the victim for remaining with his or her abuser.

She believes that political campaigning in 2012 around Proposition 35, the Californians Against Sexual Exploitation Act, helped to turn the tide against human trafficking. When the initiative won approval from 81 percent of voters, it became the most successful ballot initiative since California's ballot proposition process began in 1914.

Editorials at the time noted that, despite California's three largest cities being among the country's highest sex trafficking areas, only 18 convicted human traffickers were serving time in state prisons. Estanislao believes advocacy and education will help put more perpetrators behind bars. "One of the goals we're going to tackle is to train law enforcement to treat victims as victims, and not as criminals," she notes. "We need to raise awareness so that the public understands trafficking, too."

While the general public might still tend to see sex workers as criminals rather than victims, she says, the current campaign focuses on training law enforcement to look for the coercion inherent in trafficking and to treat victims appropriately. "Just as in domestic violence cases, victims of trafficking may stay with their abusers because they don't see any other option or they believe the abuser is the only person who still cares about them," she notes.

Serrato says that's why police conducting a sting operation now will ask a counselor or victim's advocate to be present to help guide victims on a path away from sexual exploitation. The old perception of a jaded police officer arresting a prostitute caught in a sting is giving way to a new picture of law enforcement helping to coordinate assistance for victims of trafficking. "There is a tremendous amount of empathy from police officers," he says. "They don't want to see these victims hurt any further. They want them to understand that they deserve better than this, and help break them out of the cycle."

But human trafficking isn't just about commercial sexual exploitation. It's about slave labor, too, he says, and that can be even harder to detect than sex trafficking. "People can be brought in from other parts of the United States or from other countries with the promise that they'll be working for minimum wage, or better," he says. "Once they're here, they're told there's a debt to their exploiter for transportation costs or food or housing. If they have documentation, that's taken from them to keep them under control. If they don't, their abuser threatens to call immigration authorities or the police if they don't continue to work off the debt. Either way, they don't feel they have any options for escaping," he says.

Dr. Loc Nguyen, director of Children and Family Services for the San Mateo County Human Services Agency, says labor trafficking is a far more subtle crime than sexual exploitation. Because of the county's large agricultural sector, there has been a push to determine whether there is exploitation of child labor or migrant labor in the fields. But with the current focus on commercial sexual exploitation, Nguyen acknowledges that there is insufficient data on labor trafficking in the county.

He gets frustrated when he hears statistics saying that something like 70 percent to 90 percent of commercial sexual exploitation of children comes out of child welfare and foster care systems. "Correlation is not causation," he warns. "Saying that the foster care system causes sexual exploitation is analogous to saying that emergency rooms are the cause of flu epidemics. Foster care is for children and families in unstable circumstances to begin with. Runaways are more likely to be exploited, and foster care has a higher proportion of runaways. That doesn't mean that foster care causes exploitation."

Nonetheless, there is a growing push in California for child welfare systems to assume responsibility for victims of sexual exploitation. The state Legislature allocated \$5 million during the current fiscal year to develop protocols for multi-disciplinary teams focused on assisting victims, Nguyen says. In subsequent years, annual funding of \$14 million is meant to move such programs forward.

While limited in scope, Nguyen hopes the new funding will help prepare Silicon Valley for the surge in human trafficking expected to accompany the 2016 Super Bowl scheduled to be held at Santa Clara's new Levi's Stadium. "Major sporting events draw these kinds of perpetrators, and they will bring their victims in through San Mateo County," Nguyen says. "We need to be ready to deal with the potential of a substantially increased number of victims."

In recognition of the complexity, depth and breadth of the local human trafficking industry, both counties are developing improved collaborative approaches and policies to stop the proliferation while improving protection and services for victims.

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Appendix A

List of participating community-based organizations.

Asian Americans for Community Involvement

Offers services to Asian populations, lower income residents, immigrants and refugees. Services include hotline, emergency shelter, resource advocacy, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups and health services.

Bill Wilson Center

Offers services to status offenders and substance abusers, homeless, chronic runaways, truants and victims of sexual exploitation, girls and boys ages 12-17. Services include hotline, emergency shelter, long-term shelter, human trafficking specific case management, case management, resource advocacy, legal assistance, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups, employment /education training, health services, drop-in community space, training to survivors and drop-in services.

Catholic Charities

Offers services to mid to late teenage refugees. Services include emergency shelter, long-term shelter, general case management, resource advocacy, legal assistance, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups, employment/education training and a drop-in community space.

Community Solutions

Offers services to people of all ages and ethnicities, families in distress and victims of human trafficking, exploitation, sexual abuse and domestic violence. Services include hotline, emergency shelter, long-term shelter, general case management, legal assistance, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups, health services and training to survivors.

CORA

Offers services to victims of relational abuse. Services include emergency shelter, long-term shelter, human trafficking specific case management, general case management, resource advocacy, legal assistance, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups, employment/education training, drop-in community space, training to survivors and drop-in services.

Freedom House

Offers services to female domestic violence and trafficking survivors. Consisting of foreign nationals, undocumented immigrants, U.S. citizens, sex trafficked, labor trafficked adult survivors. Services include emergency shelter, long-term shelter, human trafficking specific case management, general case management, resource advocacy, legal assistance, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups, employment and education training and health services.

International Rescue Committee

Offers services to refugees – Iraqis, Iranians, East Africans (Ethiopians, Eritreans) – who have ties to family members in Santa Clara County. Services include emergency shelter, long-term shelter, human trafficking specific case management, general case management, resource advocacy, legal assistance, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups, health services and training to survivors.

Maple Street Shelter

Offers services to the homeless. Services include emergency shelter, long-term shelter, human trafficking specific case management, general case management, resource advocacy, legal assistance, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups, employment/education training, health services, drop-in community space, training to survivors and drop-in services.

Next Door

Offers services to victims of domestic violence. Services include hotline, emergency shelter, long-term shelter, general case management, resource advocacy, legal assistance, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups, employment/education training, health services, drop-in community space and training to survivors.

Santa Clara University Community Law Center

Offers legal advocacy services to refugees in Santa Clara County.

YWCA - Silicon Valley

Offers services to survivors of sexual assault and sexual exploitation. Services include emergency shelter, long-term shelter, human trafficking specific case management, general case management, resource advocacy, legal assistance, mental health services, support groups, life skills groups, employment/education training, health services, drop-in community space and training to survivors.



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Silicon Valley Community Foundation

Silicon Valley Community Foundation makes all forms of philanthropy more powerful. We serve as a catalyst and leader for innovative solutions to our region's most challenging problems and, through our donors, give more money to charities than any other community foundation in the United States. As Silicon Valley's center of philanthropy, we provide thousands of individuals, families and corporations with simple and effective ways to give locally and around the world. Learn more at siliconvalleycf.org.

Juniper Networks Foundation Fund

Juniper's philanthropic activities are an important part of who we are as a global organization. Since its inception over a decade ago the Juniper Networks Foundation Fund has granted more than \$11 million to organizations that make lasting, meaningful differences throughout the world. Juniper has contributed to projects and programs in the San Francisco Bay Area, New Jersey, Bangalore, Karnataka, Orissa, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia and South Africa. Our employee-driven efforts have assisted 500 non-profits worldwide that educate and support those in need. The Juniper Networks Foundation seeks to create a positive impact on the underserved and undereducated by focusing on two groups within the global population that clearly require assistance: women and children victimized by human trafficking and slavery, and K12 science, technology, engineering and math education programs that serve communities in need. Through ongoing efforts and programs, we seek to create a positive impact for underserved individuals and communities by providing both financial support and engaging in volunteerism. juniper.net

Juniper Networks

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Not For Sale

Not For Sale is an international anti-human trafficking organization dedicated to equipping and empowering individuals and communities affected by trafficking, through rehabilitation services and life-enhancing tools that bring dignity and enable long-term self-sufficiency. Not For Sale's theory of change is to identify the nature of exploitation in highly vulnerable regions of the world, and to use this knowledge to drive solutions that affect lasting change for survivors of human trafficking and individuals living at high risk. Learn more at notforsalecampaign.org